

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957-1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957-1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years. 114 [27]

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words. 104

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance. 114 128

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful. 122 •

I am appreciative of assistance in locating a village from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in Taiwan and especially Messrs. Y. T. Chen, Leonard L. C. Chang, and Stephen Tsai, members of that organization. Thanks are also due Professor Chen 121 114 128

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[128] Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuoh-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

124 My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

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[122] Much of the analysis, additional library research, and the writing and preparation of the book was made possible by a grant from the Asian Studies Center, Office of International Programs, Michigan State University. I am indebted to the center for its support and to its director, Dr. William T. Ross. Also, during the final period of the writing of this book, a number of people provided me with the benefit of their helpful comments and suggestions; for this I owe thanks to Professors Charles C. Hughes, John Donoghue, Ralph Nicholas, Joseph Spielberg, Warren I. Cohen, all of Michigan State University, and Herbert P. Phillips of the University of California at Berkeley. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Hilda Jaffe of Michigan State University for her dedicated editorial assistance on the final manuscript.

000 The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1966

B. G.

INTRODUCTION

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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957-1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan Hsa or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

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may relieve the interviewer of some of these burdens and so, in many ways, actually improve the quality of the interview and the data obtained. A good interpreter may enable the interviewer to mull things over and to concentrate on the possible implications of the data obtained while the interpreter discusses things with the informant. 124

Another initial problem was my original lack of familiarity with details of local etiquette. It is entirely too easy for an unsuspecting anthropologist to commit a *faux pas* which could permanently affect his relations with people. An interpreter who is native to the area and hence aware of local customs can be of great value here. He may be better equipped to interpret signs or hints of the end of an interview, or of what to do in certain situations. 123 124

I found that once the interpreter was familiar enough with the nature of the research and the interview technique, it was possible to have him carry on certain types of routine interviews while I was busy recording earlier joint interviews. The interpreter was able in this way to help collect kinship data as well as detailed descriptions of the agricultural cycle and techniques. 124 126

As already noted, during the greater part of the village study, I usually recorded interviews well after the interview was concluded. Therefore, to provide a possible check on my understanding of the translation and also on my memory, the interpreter read over the interview for possible inaccuracies before it was considered acceptable. Entire interviews were then recorded on unisort cards and carbon duplicates. The use of the unisort card system later facilitated the cross-categorizing of the field data.

Whenever possible, I conducted interviews in Mandarin by myself. This, of course, could only be done with Mandarin speakers such as local policemen, teachers, younger village people, and other villagers who had picked up Mandarin while working in the capital city of Taipei. Speaking Mandarin, especially with local officials, greatly aided me in establishing better rapport and in obtaining access to important official documents and statistics. Occasionally, when the interpreter was not available for translation of Taiwanese, a Mandarin-speaking villager—such as a young boy—could be used for this purpose. 124 122 • [123]

My wife, who had an adequate command of Mandarin and knew the Taiwanese language somewhat better than I, helped with the research. She interviewed women and girls of the village, often using young people as translators from the Taiwanese to Mandarin. Since she was allowed to go where a man was not admitted, such as the room of a prospective bride about to leave her parents' home, she could advantageously observe events closed to all men. 114 [122] [124] [123]

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

114 Arthur P. Wolf was born in Santa Rosa, California, on March 2, 1932. After graduating from Santa Rosa Junior College in 1952, he was granted Preferment by the Telluride Association and transferred to Cornell University. He graduated from Cornell in 1953 with English literature as his major. The following fall he entered the Cornell Graduate School as a student in the Department of Anthropology, and held a Teaching Assistantship in that Department during the years 114 1954-56. In 1956 he was awarded a Foreign Area Training Fellowship for a year of graduate study at Stanford University, and in the following 122 year an Inter-University Fellowship for Field Training in Spoken Chinese. The period 1958-1961 was devoted to a field study of a Hokkien village in Northern Taiwan, again under the auspices of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Program. The completion of his graduate study was supported by a Fels Fellowship for the academic 114 year 1961-62. He is at present a Lecturer in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology, and for the past two years has held an appointment in these Departments as an Assistant Professor.

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Because my husband is an anthropologist who specializes in Chinese studies, I came in 1959 to live in a small country village in Northern Taiwan. For the next two years, home was a Chinese farm house shared with the large family of Lim. Why the Lims of Peihotien agreed to take us into their family is unclear. Our rent was certainly higher than any Taiwanese would pay, but the risk of renting to us was far greater. Many of the people in Peihotien had never seen an American before and most had never spoken to one. Our landlord, Lim Chieng-cua, evidently decided that our odd pale eyes, large noses, and unhealthy white skin did not necessarily mean we were any more unpredictable than a Taiwanese stranger. Lim Chieng-cua may have owed a social debt to the schoolmaster who introduced us to him, or he may have hoped to gain some advantage from America by sheltering its students. Perhaps he simply wished to indulge his curiosity, or perhaps he hoped that our presence in his house might in some way ease the strains that were developing within his family.

It was not until we had spent many months in the house of Lim that we began to appreciate the magnitude of our good fortune. For two generations this branch of the Lim family had held the unofficial but effective leadership of Peihotien—respected and, in some cases, feared by their fellow villagers. As guests in their home, we found we had little to fear from opportunists or thieves, for none would risk angering our mentors. We also found, however, that we had rented a certain responsibility towards the good name of the family. If we bargained so carelessly as to allow ourselves to be cheated of a few dollars, we had to a certain extent allowed the Lims to be cheated. When the village carpenter overcharged us, Lim Chieng-cua felt it necessary to retaliate with a subtle, but public, social insult. On another occasion, Lim Chieng-cua explained to us that for the sake of our good name we should eat at least one course at every village banquet to which we were invited—even if this meant attending a dozen or more banquets in a single evening. He later told our assistant that we must be urged to do this for the sake of the Lims' good name.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

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128 and Dr. Arthur Vidich for his many valuable suggestions. I am also
• [22] indebted to the Cornell committee of the London-Cornell Project for
the funds they made available to me for secretarial help.

M.W.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien

Taiwan AD6

The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is 369
conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though 291
the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western
leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, store-
keepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the
quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings
to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the
bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are
presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night,
there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel
oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming 282
from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple
tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, 251
but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp 262
tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being 322
fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always some- 824
where in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow 364
moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-
soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better 122
part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the 114
majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because
of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a
suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project
that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling 114
city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In 131
its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was 369
not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei 114
train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train 487
and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small 496
city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land
before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, 369
selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, 443
including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in 361
turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the
square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the
heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles 369
from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers 443
and gaudy magazines. 262
204

*596 corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in
342 the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of
[352] the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the
[513] time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share
[192] the tatami sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and
whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this
room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the
*596 coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small
354 internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the
353 floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts
[252] two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is
[372] filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's
cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the
stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be
caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge
before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumula-
[115] tions of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and
[352] various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed
[412] cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food
that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The
kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the
village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The
[312] well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located
[231] in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next
[54] room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig
[177] food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as
"night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full,
not ten feet from the water supply.

*596 I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house
342 had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of
122 the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for
114 storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The
storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a
sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering
cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for
her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another
family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left
we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide
ourselves with a much needed testing room.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114 This study is based on field work conducted in the
Republic of China (Taiwan) between September, 1965, and

- 122 January, 1967. The generous financial support for travel,
subsistence, and research expenses was realized from the
following sources: National Science Foundation Cooperative
Fellowship, Michigan State University Asian Studies Center,
National Defense Education Act Loan, and an International
Development Fellowship, Institute of Advanced Projects, Cen-
ter for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and
West. The latter also provided six months in residence to
organize field notes, review library materials, and consult
with visiting and resident scholars. Finally, the period
spent in writing after my return was partially supported by
a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship. My
appreciation is considerable for it simply would not have
been possible to accomplish the research without this aid.

- 114 The field work was facilitated by the hearty coopera-
122 tion of many people in Taiwan. Although operating under the
constraints of the "period of rebellion," pertinent data was
provided whenever consistent with the security of the coun-
try. Officials in such Hsin Tien offices as those of the
mayor, clerk, council, farmers' association, police, and land
all made us welcome. Scholars at National Taiwan University

114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
• 122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu,
an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Pro-
fessors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National
Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police
College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable
data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruc-
tion and the United States Information Service. Our major
assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be
commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people
who lived in the village I studied and in the other four
villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it
is located. They took us into their homes and into their
hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments
of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University.
Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly
interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and
Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice
were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department
of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the
Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in
this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned
matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental
structural and organizational problems. In the time avail-
able to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

- 121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

- e 122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

- 121
562 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

12| several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo
562 the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Hsuan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature.

- [122] The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

121 general, may be relatively close or relatively distant to
each other on the continuum. Traditional should also not
imply stagnation for no village we visited in Taiwan was
not extensively changed during the past twenty-five years.
Easily contrasted factors distinguishing traditional from
modern included housing types, extensiveness of material
goods such as television sets, motorcycles, and sewing
machines, changes in occupational structure, average level
of formal education, and types of health practices. The
traditional village was one which had changed relatively
little in the last twenty-five years; the modern village
was one which had changed considerably. I will illus-

121 trate with one concrete example. In the traditional vil-
178 lage, mid-wives attended at births which have usually
944 been in the home; in the modern village, most women went
by bus to a Western-style clinic in town which was staffed
with doctors, mid-wives and nurses.

121 Personal factors not directly relevant to the re-
search design also influenced selection of the village:
we would have to be accepted and locate housing. These
two conditions did not prove to be problems since every
site that approached reasonable congruence with the other
above requirements would have seemingly made out entry
easy.

• 122 Finally, I traveled with my family which included
two school-age children. Since we planned on a residence

- 122 of eighteen months, it was necessary that we locate within reasonable commuting distance of an American school. This requirement restricted the locations to the countryside surrounding the large cities of Taipei and Taichung, each of which possessed an appropriate school.

Selection of the Subject Village

- 121 Due to the difficult terrain and state of the roads
122 and transportation facilities in the main possible locations, investigation revealed that distances should be specified in terms of travel-time rather than mileage. It was arbitrarily decided that a minimum of one-half hour travel-time probably separated village from city life. Maximally, as travel-time approached or exceeded one and one-half hours, it appeared unlikely that the village would contain any daily commuters. With the help of the J.C.R.R. (Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction) a pair of irregular concentric lines were drawn on maps of the areas surrounding Taipei and Taichung delineating the requisite distances of one-half to one and one-half hours travel-time. Demographic and ecological characteristics of all villages bounded by the lines were analyzed in a preliminary fashion with officials of the J.C.R.R. and with Professor Chen Shao-hsing of the Sociology Department at National Taiwan University.

121 We also discussed potential sites with officials
• 122 in each township office and the local farmer's association
linked with villages within the specified areas although
at this period of first contact, our requirements were not
revealed to consultants in the detail listed above. We
then visited any villages within the area that remotely
approached the specifications. On all occasions, we were
accompanied by a minor official of the local farmers'
association. The latter individuals have comprehensive
knowledge of the local community and moreover, usually
have good relations with most villagers.

Some sites were discarded immediately for such obvious defects as size, too large or too small, or economy, i.e., a factory located within village limits. More promising ones received a visit with local officials, a walking tour through the village, and chats with several residents. Such investigations took from thirty minutes to an hour and a quarter with an average of about 45 minutes each. There was the inevitable cup of tea with the mayor or some other important resident. In these investigations, the farmers' association official was invaluable for almost everyone knew the representative by name and wanted to talk with him. These investigations took one to three days for each township area. After examining the data upon completing a township area, most sites were eliminated. Those villages which still seemed promising were

- 121 revisited for a period of three to five hours. Finally,
• 122 before going on to the next township, these latter sites were discussed again with senior officials who were familiar with demographic and economic details. Ten potential pairs of villages reached this level of analysis.

After completing the entire circuit surrounding Taipei and Taichung, more thorough analysis reduced the ten to a final three, one in the Taichung area and two in the Taipei area. Seven of the ten sites were eliminated solely because of the desire to minimize differences between the pairs of villages as discussed in connection with one research goal of a controlled comparison. For example, one village was considerably larger than the other; or one village was next to the river and the other was not.

We spent two full days in each of the remaining three pairs of villages. One of these was eliminated because it was too close to two communities in which many Americans resided and several of its residents were either working or had worked in American households as servants or gardeners. It was a "toss-up" between the final two. The one we selected saved a move of 100 miles and was nearest the school (1-1/2 hours) we thought best for our children.

- 121 All of this may falsely suggest that the community to be described in the following chapters is atypical for Taiwan. There were dozens of sites which satisfied all the specified requirements except the desire for a nearby sister village which would be identical in as many features as possible except the differences along a modern-to-traditional continuum. The presence of such a nearby village should have no effect on this current report which primarily focuses on the traditional village of the pair. Many other villages which would have served this last purpose equally well were located adjacent to even larger more sophisticated villages which contained factories and wine houses for example.

Research Methods

- 12 The standard methods of anthropological techniques were employed: participant-observation, mapping, census, interviews, etc. Although four key informants were developed and cultivated, at least four interviews were conducted with each adult resident of the village. Before departure, I knew and could recognize at a distance every adult and most of the children.

- 121 During the first nine months, we lived in the city
• 122 of Taipei and commuted to the village. We came at different times of the day and evening and remained for various periods of time. We often stayed overnight. I rented a room (occasionally sharing it with single young

121 men) in a village house for a month at a time, each month
• 122 a different house. In this room I conducted some inter-
views but primarily it was used for writing, organizing
data, rest, and sleeping. I also took most of my meals
with the household in which I had a room. This tech-
nique allowed me to become an intimate part, a boarder, in
several different households. People could be on their
best behavior for a few days, but it proved impossible to
act unnaturally for an entire month.

During the last eight months, we moved into one of
the two villages, Erhlei, in a household of our own.
Since the two villages had one common boundary, were both
located in the same li, and the village centers were sep-
arated only by the equivalent of one and a half city
blocks, the particular village location did not appear to
be important. We were quite surprised at the differences
resulting from our establishment of a residence in Talei

123 Li. We experienced a higher level of acceptance although
we felt we had already established excellent relations.
We were asked to serve in the Parent Teacher's Association
and were now taxed for school and temple affairs. Al-
though our children had visited the villages many times,
they quickly established their own network of friends and
associates and our son attended the local school one day
a week.

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name).

My wife was called A ku (PaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,

124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One
was well-trained and had had extensive experience with
other American scholars. The other two were young college
graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and
rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin,
Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each
had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popu-
lar with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with
myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked
alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are

197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one
language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese
approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant re-
checking of data through repeated interviews with the same
informant and other informants with regard to the same
data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological
field research. By using different assistants for inter-
views regarding the same data with different informants,
one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the

• 122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving
the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

122 Taiwanese was studied informally in the village. Our
limited command of the two languages also provided a means
of checking data.

124 Additionally, two villagers were employed, one
115 male and one female, both excellent in Taiwanese and reasonably fluent in Mandarin. The female was a young primary school graduate from Sanlei, primarily employed as household help. However, she was bright, active, sensitive, observant, privy to village gossip, the daughter of one of the informal village leaders, and proved most helpful. The boy was from Erhlei, a part-time farm laborer studying drafting nights and Saturdays in a Taipei technical high school. Villagers considered him a very good boy and he was very popular. He was first employed to make a village map of households and fields and detailed household plans. Since he had ready access to all village houses, he also made periodic inventories of possessions including the farm animals. He too became an excellent informant. Since both were bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese, they often proved useful as interpreters during our period of residence in the village for only one of the regular assistants lived in the village. Our ability in Taiwanese never reached a level sufficient for serious interviews but we could use it for simple polite conversation. We both understood more than we could speak.